As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAH] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumeri Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[538] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone
[402] wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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*177 128 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use *177 493 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen *565 [441] Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, *[634] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one-half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two *177 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the • 805 sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread *[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two *[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 805 *829 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather mechanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

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Table XIX

4,5. Knowledge about Western Material Items.

	4. Can you ride a bicycle? yes	no	5. Can you tell time? yes	no
Aristocracy	4*a	1	5	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	1	2
Canteen Operators	4*b	2	4	2
NA Malams	5	1	6	-
Kabuna	2	4	3	3
Craftsmen	2	4	4	2
Talaka	4	4	5	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	2	2
Totals:	23	21	30	14

[576] *a one of the aristocracy (Yerima) stated that he doesn't ride a bicycle though he knows how to, because it isn't dignified.

*b one of the canteen traders stated that though he knows how to ride a bicycle, he doesn't ride, but travels on horse.

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Table XX

*177 *305 *565 *554 *463 *829

6. Ideas about the usefulness of Western material items:

What is the use of a wrist watch?

	A. doesn't know its use*a	B. know when to pray*b	C. important for one's work*c	D. complex ideas about usefulness*
Aristocracy	-	5	1	4
Koranic Malams	1	1	1	-
Canteen Operators	1	5	2	-
NA Malams	-	6	5	1
Kabuna	2	5	-	1
Craftsmen	3	3	-	1
Talaka	2	7	3	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	1	1
Totals:	10	35	13	11

*a Answers indicating lack of knowledge:

Koranic Malam: "I don't know. It has no use."

Canteen Operator: "I don't know. A man knows when to stop work. It has no other use."

Kabuna: "You know what to do at different times of the day. You know the time- its pleasant. At 9 o'clock you eat."

Craftsman: "A man knows the time. I don't know what use that is. If you tell me, then I'll know its use."
"You know the prayer times; it has no other use. Talaka don't know its use. I'll know only if you tell it to me."

Talaka: "I don't know. If I get one I'll learn its use."

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Table XX (continued)

*177 *805 *565 *463 *829 *b Knowing when to pray:

Canteen Operator: "You know the prayer times. That's its only use for a Moslem."

"You know when to pray; you know the hours. It has no other uses."

NA Malam: "You know when to pray when its cloudy. When you wake up at night, you know the time."

Kabuna: "You know the prayer times; when to eat; and when to go to sleep."

Talaka: "If you go to the bush, at Duar (2 P.M.) you know it's time to pray.... At night, when there is no sun, you know when to pray."

In addition to stating that one knows the prayer times from one's wrist watch, individuals added the following:

You know when to rise in the early morning to count prayer beads - 3

You know when to wake up to break the fast during the month of Ramadan - 4

You know when to eat - 6

You know when to go to sleep - 2

*c A wrist watch is important for one's work:

Aristocrat: "When you go to work, you know when to stop in order to pray. You start work at a certain time and stop at a certain time..."

Koranic Malam: "If a man does European work, he knows when to go and when to leave for lunch."

Canteen Operator: "You know when to open your canteen, and when to close it. You know when to pray."

NA Malams: "A worker won't come late to work. You know the prayer times."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to stop work to eat; when to close for the day...."

"...If someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab wound, for example, you write down the time he was brought in."

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Table XX (continued)

*177 *805 *565 *554 *463 *829

Talaka: "You know when to pray. You know when to stop work, go to eat, and be back at work, without being late...."

"You know when to pray. When you go to sleep, you know the time when you awake. At 3 A.M. you wake up if you want to go to bush markets."

Low-status Individual: "People who work for the government know when to go to work. You know when to pray."

#d More complex ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch:

Aristocracy: "...If you leave for another town, you know when to leave, and when to return."

"...If you're going on a trip, you know what time you ought to start, because you know how fast you travel in an hour, and how many miles you have to go, so you can figure out what time you should start in order to reach there on time."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave for a journey and what time you will reach your destination...."

"You can tell someone when you are going someplace and when you will return."

NA Malam: "You can tell a man to come to see you at a certain time - 4 o'clock - and you know when to expect him."

Kabuna: "...A person may tell you to meet him at a certain time to start on a trip, and you know when to go."

Craftsman: "If a friend tells you to go someplace at 9 o'clock, you lie down and then, when it's 9 o'clock, you get up and go there."

Talaka: "...If you go someplace, you know how long it took to travel there...."

"...If you go to another town, you know when you started out and what time you arrived there."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave on a trip."

Low-status Individual: "You know the prayer times. A person can tell you what time he came to a particular place."

*177 •805 *829 one individual offered several reasons as to why a wrist watch was useful, and his answers may have fallen into several categories. The total number of responses in Table XX is therefore greater than the number of individuals in the sample.

Column A includes responses which indicate that the individual has no knowledge as to the usefulness of a wrist watch. [126] In superscript*a following the table itself, a number of verbatim responses are presented to indicate the nature and some of the variety in this category of responses. These include definite statements that a wrist watch has no use, and vague statements that it's nice to know the times of the day. Several individuals indicated that they understood that there was some use to a wrist watch, and that if the anthropologist would impart this knowledge to them they would then know. Implicit in the statements by the two Craftsmen is that though they realize that a wrist watch has some use, they have not been sufficiently interested to find out its use from someone who knows. The last statement by a Talaka is interesting in that it inverts the relationship between owning a thing and knowing about its usefulness. The order of events which he presents is not likely to occur; he would hardly get a wrist watch before knowing what its use was. Of the ten responses in column A indicating a lack of knowledge of the usefulness of a wrist watch, seven occur in three groups: Kalbuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. This response did not occur at all in two categories: Aristocracy and NA Malams.

*634 *643 *645

#177 #829 #805 788 Column B represents the most common response to this question. Thirty-five individuals said that a watch was useful because one then knew when to pray. Ritual prayer takes place five times each day, at set times of the day (see Chapter II). These are usually determined by the position of the sun in the sky; the benefit of a watch in helping one to know when to pray is therefore obvious. Some individuals added that a watch was particularly helpful in knowing when to pray when it is cloudy; others noted that in the bush, when no one else was about, it was helpful to have a watch to know when to pray. In connection with prayer, three individuals noted that by having a watch one knew when to arise in the early morning before the sun was up in order to count one's prayer beads (tajimi). Similarly, four people noted that you knew when to wake before the sun was up to eat something in the month of Ramadan. Since prayer times regulate the divisions of the day, six people added that by having a watch one knew when to eat (in relation to prayer), and two said that one knew when to go to sleep (a non sequitur). Several people specifically noted that knowing the times for ritual prayer was the only use of a watch. All the individuals in two groups put forth this reason, among others, for having a watch. These groups are: Aristocracy and NA Malams. [565] [634] [792] Seven of the eight Talaka offered this reason. On the other hand, only one of the three Koranic Malams offered this as an example of the usefulness of a watch. Apparently the other Koranic Malams do not feel that a watch is of any assistance in

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*177 805 +829 788 [792] helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

*177 805 +829 128 The four types of response to the question concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave *[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have [792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting *[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a Low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (sic) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

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*177 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab
*805 wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer
*829 indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch sole-
128 ly in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureau-
cratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper understanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destination. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These responses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of
*[565] possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered re-
*[634] sponses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only
[441] one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen Operators offered this reason.

*177 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers
*829 presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy
*805 offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malams
*565 are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to
*554 prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The
*463
*634

Canteen Operators tend to offer prayer times (B) as their typical response. The NA Malams offer reasons connected with their work (C) more often than do other groups. The Kabuna offer prayer times (B) largely. A higher proportion of the Craftsman group state that they do not know (A) than does any other group. The Talaka and the Low-status Individuals offer a variety of responses of which the most common by far is knowing of prayer times (B). Rating the four categories of response as to degree of acculturation by assigning a value of 1 to responses in column A, a value to 2 to responses in column B, a value of 3 to responses in column C, and a value of 4 to the responses in column D, one can arrive at a score for the average responses in each of the eight groups, and can thus compare their degree of acculturation with respect to this particular measure. The average ranks for the groups fall in the following order, beginning with the least acculturated:

1. Craftsmen - average response value = 1.86
2. Koranic Malams - = 2.0
3. Kabuna - = 2.0
4. Canteen Operators - = 2.13
5. Low-status Individuals - = 2.33
6. Talaka - = 2.47
7. NA Malams - = 2.58
8. Aristocracy - = 2.9

The Craftsmen, with their high proportion of "don't know" (A) responses thus are revealed as the least acculturated group in

*177
*829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion
*805 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen
*463
*565 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the

*177
825 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case
*829 the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle
492 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were
493 then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bi-
[125] cycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
64
[441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-

443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

In Maiduguri, there
443 is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Mguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Mguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.